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835 cousins of all degrees, all other persons of the same generation being considered eligible and being called according to sex, takano (female cross cousin) and iyao (term for male cross cousin). As a matter of actual fact, intercourse does take place between members of the incest group occasionally. If it is known to the community as a whole, ridicule results, but I learned of no formal religious sanctions for the incest rule. Breaking of the incest tabu is frowned upon; it is considered unlucky and also nasty and indecent. Almost any sort of ill luck and sickness may result from incest, and this the piaiyen may attempt to cure, although his treatments are not considered highly efficacious for such cases. But if an individual wishes to take the chance, the other members of the community will only laugh at him or regard him as singularly foolhardy. A widower, residing in Haiari settlement, was said to be sleeping with his daughter during the entire time I was in the region. The case of a man from Ianna settlement, who was said to be sleeping with his mother, was frequently related. In each of these cases it was commented that the individuals in question were behaving "like dogs," but they were not ostracised or punished in any physical manner.

[684]

584 As time goes on, a young man feels that it is time he settled down to family life. He usually has developed a liking for some particular girl, whom he revisits frequently at her father's house, and in whose house he finally becomes a guest of long standing. The girl's relatives usually, after some time, raise the question of the seriousness of his intentions, and he finally speaks to her father, asking the older man to give him his daughter. In other cases, a young man may ask a father for a daughter the first time he sees her. In either case, if the match is approved, the old man requires that the suitor build a house and cut a field in the bride's settlement, feats which are regarded as testing not only the seriousness of the suitor's intentions, but also his ability as a homemaker. During the time required for the accomplishment of these tasks, the suitor lives in his future father-in-law's house, enjoying the favors of the girl. It is obvious that sex is a minor consideration in marriage. When the house and field are completed, the young couple prepare to move in and settle down. The groom must pass one more test, however. While the bride prepares drink for a spree which will be given at the house warming, the groom goes

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out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the men of the settlement who are related to the bride by blood or marriage. The object of this expedition is to prove the young man's fitness as a meat provider for his future family. During the early part of the day's hunt, his companions place every possible hindrance in the way of his obtaining a bag, such as making noise when a quarry has been sighted, or rocking the canoe as the hunter takes aim while on the river. This is a very hilarious occasion for the other participants and a very embarrassing one for the groom, who will be rejected if he returns empty handed. If the groom is at all acceptable to the bride's relatives, however, they usually arrange that, after a day of tribulations, he will get some sort of bag to bring home. During his residence in the settlement they have had ample opportunity to form an opinion concerning him. The hunting expedition is apparently merely a formality, as it is a rare groom who does not know fairly well whether or not he has passed the examination of his future in-laws long before the time for the final test arrives.

Upon the return of the hunting party, an offering of drink is made to the spirit of the house, a spree takes place, and the young couple settle down to married life. They usually live in the girl's settlement until the birth of the first child. Later they may move elsewhere.

A man taking a second wife, either as a widower or as the master of a polygamous household, merely requests her from her father, giving the older man some small present or services in exchange. The house-building, field-cutting, and hunting tests are not considered necessary in the case of a man who has previously been married, since he has already given evidence of his fitness.

It is apparent that marriage, coincidental with matrilocal residence, entails the acceptance of the groom by the group to which the bride belongs, which we shall call the extended family. Marriage thus involves a sort of contract between a man and his wife's group, but does not involve a contractual relationship between his own relatives and those of the bride.

After marriage a certain reserve exists between son-in-law and father-in-law. A man never gives his father-in-law direct orders or suggestions, but always speaks to his wife about the matter in hand, and she transmits her husband's ideas to the older man. On

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but [851] through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 406 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organi- [592] zation (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about freely to enter into associations with other men from households in

175 476 593 605 [591] the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

*177 582 seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No *177 588 marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his grandaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

*177 582 • 584 Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the [602] [583] new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, noncresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the *177 606 previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.[11] Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

*177 60 Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.